4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

indeed sorry when Benry, exercising his authority, sent several of my sitters to dress up in their best clothes—often Japanese—while I should have preferred to sketch them in their every-day rags. I must say, for their sake, that they were never sent to wash. Being a rapid sketcher, I had recourse to a trick. I pretended to sketch one given person, who, of course, was sent at once to "dress up," and while he or she, after having returned, posed patiently for half an hour or more, I in the meantime took sketches of four or five different natives, who were not aware that they were being portrayed. As the Ainu—and they are probably not the only people—could not make either head or tail of my sketches, my trick was never found out.

One day, old Benry led me by the hand in the most affectionate manner to a hut some way off, and confidentially told me that we were going to see his favourite girl and her boy.

"This," said the chief triumphantly as we went in, "this is Benry's *Pirika menoko*" (pretty girl), "and that"—pointing to a youth—"her only son."

"And what about the old hairy lady in your own hut?" I inquired.

"That is my *Poromachi*" (great wife), said he, qualifying matters with a compliment to the elder woman, "and this is my *Pon-machi*" (small wife).

"Why should you have two wives, you old Mormon?"

"Nishpa," retorted he, "my great wife is old, and she is only fit to do all the rough work in the house and out. My hair is white, but I am strong, and I wanted yet a young wife."

Indeed, there was enough mother-wit in Benry to have made him either a scamp or a philosopher. His theories were as remarkable as they were accommodating, particularly to himself.

Returning from the house of his love, the chief was in a very talkative mood, and he related two or three Japanese stories, which he wanted me to believe to be pure Ainu legends. A learned missionary and two or three travellers before him, who had visited Piratori previous to myself, have accepted these so-called legends wholesale, taking Benry's word for their accuracy, which, as the old chief speaks very good Japanese, of course simplified the task of understanding and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief.

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration.

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing.

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered.

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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notes on hunting techniques, weaving, and other activities may be published in due course.

Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11 remain more or less as Munro wrote them. In chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 I have rearranged valuable material contained in some separate articles that Munro wrote (but as far as I know never published), as well as information scattered about in his original work, and notes from numerous letters to C. G. Seligman. Munro did not realize the importance of some of his own observations with regard to ancestor worship, matriliny and patriliny. (And, I may add, that I did not do so myself until I had been through all his manuscripts and letters several times.) I have therefore written Chapter XII on Social Organization, bringing together all the information I have been able to collect on the subject from Munro's own work, as well as that from the Japanese writers, who, working in the field some years after Munro, were able to follow up on scientific lines Munro's information on the secret girdles. The reader may find Chapters 2, 3 and 4 heavy going. *Kamui*, *inau* and the effigies are (or were still in the thirties of this century) vitally important to the Ainu, and the careful descriptions and photographs are a tribute to Munro's integrity. Should anyone care to skip these chapters, interest will doubtless arise later, and these chapters may be used only for reference.

Through the efforts of Mr Hugh Gibb when he was in Japan, I was able to get in touch with Mrs Munro in October 1959. She was delighted to know that her husband's work on the Ainu was to be published at long last. She wrote that Signor Fosco Maraini had been in Nibutani at the time of her husband's death and that she had entrusted him with a rucksack full of typescript. I had great hopes that the missing material referred to in Munro's letters, and perhaps the valuable films, might at last come to light, and wrote to Signor Maraini via his publisher. Six months later he came to London and brought me the rucksack. Unfortunately, it only contained a carbon copy of the book prepared by Munro and a few legends and invocations which have been included here as Appendix I.

My thanks are due to all members of the British Association's Committee: to Professor Forde for going through the original typescript of Munro's book and for giving assistance to Mr Watanabe; to Arthur Waley for checking the spelling and translation

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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PREFACE

● 128 of Ainu and Japanese words; and especially to Lord Raglan, who, in a revision and rearrangement of this work, did much to render it more concise. He has also prepared the index.

I must thank Mr W. H. Gilbert of the Library of Congress, Washington, for an up-to-date bibliography on the Ainu. Miss Kirkpatrick, Librarian of the Royal Anthropological Institute, has kindly helped me check this list, and we have decided only to include those works directly bearing on the subject matter of this book. Unfortunately, we have been unable to include works in Japanese and Russian which have neither titles nor summaries in English.

B. Z. S.

London, 1962

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I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship.

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries.

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and superintendence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred throughout Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dispersions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information pertaining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1, [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

124 importance, because by interview technique there would be the danger of
128 the informant supplying their own generalized and theorized explanations in place of information about the concrete activities from which the investigator is to deduce some relations. Actually there exists such a strong tendency which might lead the research worker to false interpretation.

128 In the present paper a comparison is made of the relations thus observed
121 in different Ainu groups at our time horizon and a generalized description is made of those relations which are common to all the groups. Where there
015 is some important variation found in any group a note was added. It should be noticed that, besides the first-hand information supplied by the three informants mentioned above on the old-time Ainu groups, a considerable amount of data was obtained from at least 20 Ainu informants—two from tne Shikot or Chitose valley (Hikoichi Oyamada and Shibakichi Imaizumi, both males), one from the Azuma valley (Kentaro Yoshimura, male), four from the Mukawa valley (Kashindeashi Katayama, male; Usamtarek Okawa, male; Takaro Miyamoto, male; Itakmainu Morimoto, male), six from the Saru valley (Hachiro Kurokawa, male; Dairoku Kibata, male; Monko Kawakami, female; Tokujiro Kawakami, male; Kunimatu Nitani, male; Mopi, female), three from the mid-Tokapchi (Ritu Yoshine, female; Taijiro Tamai, male; Tome Hasegawa, female), three from the Tushipet valley (Neusharumon Kiyokawa, female; Takeo Kiyokawa, male; Hachiro Sawai, male) and one from the Kusuri or Kushiro valley (Toyosaku Kkurotake, an old Japanese born there and married to an Ainu woman). These latter belong to newer generations than the other three; they could only supply information about life experiences and observations made at periods later than or immediately following the date under survey and about hearsays from their older generations. To these occasional reference is made in the paper. Descriptions with special reference to place-names other than the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Atuma are based on these latter data, whereas those referring to either one or the other of the three areas or to no areas at all, that is, descriptions common to all the three valleys, are based on data concerning the anterior Ainu groups obtained through the afore-mentioned procedure.

Acknowledgements.

114 My thoughts incorporated in this paper have not matured in isolation. Among many persons who influenced them I may name Professor Kotondo Hasebe, formerly of University of Tokyo, who was the first to draw my attention to the importance of viewing man as a functioning organism and man's life as part of his function, and Professor Daryll Forde, of University College, London, who led me to a realization of the significance and necessity of ecological analysis in the study of human groups, through his treatise

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Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

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Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

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If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these